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ABSTRACT

Data from the 1980 Census were used in a study of the major demographic and socioeconomic differences between Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics" (excluding Cubans and Mexicans) residing in New York City. The research was conducted partly to understand whether the Puerto Rican population, with a much longer residence history in New York City, has achieved different socioeconomic characteristics than other, more recently arrived groups. Particular attention was paid to the Dominicans and Colombian populations, the largest of the "Other Hispanic" groups. Statistics were derived regarding: (1) nativity and year of immigration; (2) families by type and presence of children; (3) age and family composition; (4) number of children ever born per woman; (5) educational achievement; (6) language spoken at home; and (7) economic contrasts in family structure and economic position (income, labor force participation and unemployment, source of income, occupation and industry). In general, the 1980 Census suggests that, contrary to popular belief, the newer, Dominican migrants have not replaced Puerto Ricans on the lowest rung of the New York City economic ladder. Despite their lower levels of education, poorer English-speaking ability, and concentration in many of the same occupations, in 1980, Dominicans were doing better economically than Puerto Ricans. Nonetheless, the socioeconomic situation of married-couple Puerto Rican families offers promise for the group as a whole, with larger proportions of earners and incomes more on par with those of "Other Hispanics" and the city as a whole. (KH)

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HISPANIC DIVERSITY IN NEW YORK CITY

The diversity of the Hispanic population and the limited scope of official statistics often restrict us to fragmentary accounts of the social and mental health problems of Hispanics in New York City. Several articles on the important topic of Hispanic diversity have appeared in the *Research Bulletin* in the past: "Hispanic Diversity in New York City" by Douglas T. Gurak and Lloyd H. Rogler (July 1980, vol. 3-no.3); "Variations in Hispanic Health Status" by Antonio N. Zavaleta, "Family Structural Diversity of Hispanic Ethnic Groups" by Douglas T. Gurak, and "Socioeconomic Patterns and Diversity among Hispanics" by David Alvirez (all in the April-July 1981 issue, vol. 4-nos. 2-3). They have all pointed our attention to the fact that Puerto Ricans have been experiencing severe social and economic stresses and that these stresses have differed considerably from those experienced by other Hispanics.

We are, therefore, pleased to present to our readers the article below which gives an up-to-date and comprehensive look at the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Puerto Ricans and other selected Hispanic populations in New York City. The data revealed in this article emphasize the imperative need of distinguishing among Hispanic groups for purposes of public policy and practice and for our own general understanding.

Because of space limitations, we have not been able to publish the full 20 statistical tables which originally accompanied this article. Readers who would like to receive a copy of the unabridged paper are requested to write to the authors of the article as follows: Evelyn S. Mann and Joseph J. Salvo, Population Division, Department of City Planning, 2 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10007.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW HISPANIC IMMIGRANTS TO NEW YORK CITY : A COMPARISON OF PUERTO RICAN AND NON-PUERTO RICAN HISPANICS

*Evelyn S. Mann and Joseph J. Salvo**

In New York City in 1980, there were 1,406,024 persons classified by responses to Census Question 7 as of Hispanic origin or descent. This was a gain of about 10 percent over the 1970 count of Hispanics, defined then as persons of Spanish language. The number of Hispanics in New York City in 1980 exceeded the total population in all but five cities in the United States and constituted about one-fifth of all persons in New York City. Therefore, the study of this population group warrants close attention.

Most Hispanics came to New York City after World War II. Up until 1965, most Hispanics coming into the city were persons of Puerto Rican origin. By 1970, two-thirds of the 1,278,630 Hispanic persons were Puerto Rican.[1] Since 1970, immigration from South and Central America has accelerated. Some 69,000 non-Puerto Rican Hispanics were added to New York City's population between 1970 and 1980, an increase of 14 percent. By 1980, 60.6 percent of the city's Hispanics were Puerto Rican, an increase of only 1.6 percent since 1970.

Included in the non-Puerto Rican group in 1980 were 60,930 Cubans and

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22,577 Mexicans, together representing 5.9 percent of total Hispanics. The 461,965 persons undifferentiated as "Other Hispanic" came from a wide variety of countries. Theoretically, the full count questionnaire did not provide a space for "Other Hispanics" to write in their country of origin. However, some 60 percent of "Other Hispanics," 275,326, classified themselves as "Other" race and wrote in a specific country of origin in 1980 Census Question 4. The Bureau of the Census did not tabulate these write-in responses by country of origin. Researchers must find clues in the sample count responses to "place-of-birth" and "ancestry" questions. From these data, it can be interpolated that about 45 percent of those who gave a specific country were either born in the Dominican Republic or were descendants of someone who was. There follows in size a smaller but significant number of Colombians, Ecuadorians, Argentinians, Peruvians, Hondurans, and Salvadoreans roughly in that order, but with all South and Central American Spanish-speaking countries represented.

Research Problem and Data Sources

The objective of this paper is to describe the major demographic and socioeconomic differences between Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics," excluding Mexicans and Cubans. The special migration history of Mexicans and Cubans makes them subject to an expected set of differences when compared to other groups. However, it is not clear whether the Puerto Rican group, which has a much longer residence history in New York City than "Other Hispanics," has by that fact alone achieved different demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Of the more than 1.4 million Hispanics in New York City, 861,000 are Puerto Ricans and 462,000 are "Other Hispanics" (Table 1.) * It is believed that the city's Hispanic population was more heavily underenumerated in the 1980 Census than many other groups. Any discussion must be qualified by the fact that there are missing population components, the characteristics of which are not known.

Table 1 Persons of Hispanic Origin or Descent, New York City, 1980

	Number	Percent
Total by Origin or Descent	1,406,024	100.0
Puerto Rican	860,352	61.2
Cuban	60,930	4.3
Mexican	22,577	1.6
Other Hispanic	461,965	32.9

Source: 1980 Census Summary Tape File 2B.

Data from Summary Tape Files (STF) 2 and 4 of the 1980 Census were used to conduct the analysis. Since treatment of "Other Hispanics" in the Summary Tape Files as a single group probably masks significant differences within the group, the characteristics of two major "Other Hispanic" immigrant groups will be examined—the Dominicans and the Colombians. Previous research[2] found that these two groups have unique demographic profiles and are on opposite sides of the economic spectrum. The socioeconomic differences between Colombians and Dominicans were examined by using the Public Use Microdata File (Sample A, 5/100) from the 1980 Census.

Nativity and Year of Immigration

Persons of Puerto Rican origin or descent are by definition classified as "native-born" although among the 852,833 Puerto Ricans 3.2 percent were classified as "foreign-born," that is, Puerto Ricans born in a country other than the United States, Puerto Rico, or United States possessions. Some of these "foreign-born" Puerto Ricans came from the Philippines and some native Puerto Ricans were "born abroad of American parents."

Almost 34 percent of the "Other Hispanics" were native-born, most of them in New York State, a small number in another state and a significant number were native but "born abroad of American Parents." Fully two-thirds of "Other Hispanics" were foreign-born, 53 percent of whom immigrated to the United States since the change in the immigration laws in 1965. More than a third came to New York since the 1970 Census. The relatively recent arrival of large numbers of "Other Hispanics" compared to the 1970 to 1980 migration patterns of Puerto Ricans has had a profound influence on the contrasting demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the two groups.

While it is not possible to precisely quantify the in-, out- and net-migration of Puerto Ricans to and from the mainland, it can be estimated from national passenger traffic data and city school enrollment and discharge data that there was net outflow back to Puerto Rico between the end of 1971 and the end of 1976.[3] The result was a very small net out-migration from the city to Puerto Rico for the entire 1970-1980 period. At the same time, several other states, including New Jersey and Connecticut, experienced large increases in their Puerto Rican population. They had increases combining out-migrants from New York State as well as recent direct inmigration from Puerto Rico.

Families by Type and Presence of Children

The family patterns of Puerto Rican and "Other Hispanic" families were vastly different from that of the city's total families. And there were significant differences between the two Hispanic groups (Table 2). Examining the three basic family types, Puerto Ricans had the lowest percent of total families that were married couples, 51.3 percent compared to 68.5 percent for all city families and 61.5 percent for "Other Hispanic" families. Over 26 percent of the city's families were classified as "female householder, with no spouse present," but 43.5 percent of Puerto Rican families were of that type while 32.1 percent of "Other Hispanic" families had a female householder.

Table 2 Total Families by Type and Presence of Own Children[1]: Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics," New York City, 1980

	Puerto Ricans		Other Hispanics	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total Families	214,388	100.0	108,743	100.0
With own children	147,751	100.0	70,450	100.0
Without own children	66,637	100.0	38,293	100.0
Married-couple families	109,959	51.3	66,920	61.5
With own children	69,214	46.8	43,579	61.9
Without own children	40,745	61.1	23,341	61.0
Male Householder, no spouse	11,236	5.2	6,906	6.4
With own children	4,916	3.3	2,318	3.3
Without own children	6,320	9.5	4,588	12.0
Female householder, no spouse	93,193	43.5	34,917	32.1
With own children	73,621	49.8	24,553	34.9
Without own children	19,572	29.4	10,364	27.1

[1] Unmarried children under 18 years.

Source: 1980 Census Summary Tape File 2B.

*These are STF-2 full count estimates and thus will differ from STF-4 sample count estimates presented in later tables.

When the dichotomy "with children" or "without children" is examined, differences persist. Only 48 percent of all city families had own children under 18 but 68.9 percent of Puerto Rican families and 64.8 percent of "Other Hispanic" families had own children. Seventy-nine percent of Puerto Rican "female householders with no spouse present" had children under 18 present as did 70 percent of "Other Hispanic" similar families while 61 percent of the city's female householders had own children present.

Furthermore, if all families with own children are taken as the basis for comparison, almost half (49.8) of such families among Puerto Ricans were female headed, compared with 34.9 percent for "Other Hispanics," about the same level as for all city families (33.3).

Table 3 Persons in Households by Type and Relationship and Persons in Group Quarters: Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics," New York City, 1980

	Puerto Ricans			Other Hispanics		
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent	
Total Population	860,552	100.0		461,065	100.0	
In households	852,582	99.1		458,654	99.3	
In family households	777,097	90.		417,859	90.5	
Householder	214,388	24.9		108,743	23.5	
Spouse	110,113	12.8		70,294	15.2	
Child	381,581	44.3		181,102	39.2	
Under 18	303,197	35.2		138,402	30.0	
Brother/sister	14,075	1.6		13,827	3.0	
Parent	8,169	.9	6.6	8,167	1.8	10.1
Other relatives	35,107	4.1		24,354	5.3	
Under 18	23,104	2.7		11,129	2.4	
Nonrelatives	13,664	1.6		11,372	2.5	
In nonfamily households	75,485	8.8		40,795	8.8	
Householder	64,540	7.5		32,135	7.0	
Living alone	56,475	6.6		26,452	5.7	
Sharing unit	8,065	.9		5,683	1.2	
Nonrelatives	10,945	1.3		8,660	1.9	
In group quarters	7,970	.9		3,311	.7	
Average family size	3.56			3.74		

[1] Never married own child.

Source: 1980 Census Summary Tape File 2B.

Age and Family Composition

The Puerto Rican population was, on average, younger than the "Other Hispanics." The male "Other Hispanic" population was on average 3.4 years older than their male Puerto Rican counterparts while "Other Hispanic" females were 2.4 years older than Puerto Rican females. Both Hispanic subgroups were considerably younger than the total New York City population. The overall median for the city was 32.6 years compared with 23.7 years for Puerto Ricans and 26.7 years for "Other Hispanics."

In every age group under age 20, both male and female "Other Hispanics" had lower percentages than Puerto Ricans. Collectively, 46.4 percent of all Puerto Rican males and 39.7 percent of females were under 20 compared with 39.3 for "Other Hispanic" males and 34.0 for "Other Hispanic" females. This manifests itself in a higher percentage of persons classified as "own children under 18" of the householder; 35 percent of the Puerto Rican population compared with 30 percent of "Other Hispanic" persons (Table 3).

When the total Puerto Rican and "Other Hispanic" populations are examined by whether persons are in family or nonfamily households or are in group quarters, there is little differentiation between them. Interestingly, both Hispanic groups had a higher proportion of persons in family households, (90 percent) than the total city population (82 percent, Table 3) and half the percentage of the city's population in either non-family households or in group quarters respectively.

However, when the composition of family households is examined, significant differences appear. There was much more of an extended family pattern among "Other Hispanics" with 10.1 percent of persons classified as brothers or sisters, parents or other relatives compared with 6.6 percent for Puerto Ricans. The result is a slightly higher average family size, 3.74, for "Other Hispanics" than for Puerto Ricans, 3.56, both of which were higher than the 1980 city average of 3.23 persons per family. This contrast manifests itself at the upper end of the family size distribution, with 10.8 percent of Puerto Rican families containing 6% or more persons compared with 12.4 percent for "Other Hispanics," but with only 8.1 percent of total city families in this size group.

Then, too, there were a proportionately higher number of "Other Hispanic" persons classified as "non-relatives" living in the family household than in Puerto Rican families. "Other Hispanic" persons who were non-family householders were also less likely to be living alone but rather sharing their living quarters with one or more non-relatives.

The combination of all the above living arrangements resulted in a higher average household size among "Other Hispanics;" 3.26 persons compared with 3.06 persons per household among Puerto Ricans. Moreover, "Other Hispanics" seemed to be squeezing more persons into their living quarters than Puerto Ricans. Almost 22 percent of their households were reported as "overcrowded" * compared with 16 percent of Puerto Rican households; 7.4 percent were "very overcrowded" while only 4.3 percent of Puerto Rican households were so.

Children Ever Born

It has been shown that a higher percentage of Puerto Rican persons were "own children" of the householder than among "Other Hispanic" persons with a 5 percent spread if the person was under 18 years of age but little differential if the person was 18 years of age or older.

While the number of "children ever born" to females 35 to 44 is used to measure completed fertility, differences could already be discerned among females aged 25 to 34 who had not completed the fertility cycle (Table 4). Puerto Rican women in this age group had borne an average of 1.87 children compared with 1.50 children for "Other Hispanic" women. These children were more likely to be among those still living at home and reflected in the household relationship table.

Table 4 Children Ever Born[1] for Females by Age and Marital Status; Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics," New York City, 1980:

	Children Ever Born	
	Puerto Ricans	Other Hispanics
Females by Age		
15 to 24 years	.52	.36
Single	.29	.14
Ever married	1.14	.93
25 to 34 years	1.87	1.50
Single	1.35	.64
Ever married	2.06	1.71
35 to 44 years	3.03	2.36
Single	2.51	1.01
Ever married	3.11	2.54

[1] Number of children ever born per woman.

Source: 1980 Census Summary Tape File 4B.

**The Standard Federal Index for "overcrowding" is based on the percentage of occupied housing units in which there are 1.01 or more persons per room. "Very overcrowded" units are measured as 1.51 or more persons per room.*

Similarly, at least some of the under 18- and over 18-year-old own children born to females 35 to 44 were among those still living at home in 1980. The completed fertility pattern showed even broader differentials with an average of 3.03 children per Puerto Rican female and 2.35 for "Other Hispanic" females irrespective of marital status. The lower fertility pattern may be merely the result of selective migration patterns, particularly among the more recent immigrant groups. On the other hand, as discussed earlier, family-type patterns vary significantly when Puerto Rican families were compared with "Other Hispanic" families.

Educational Achievement

Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics" aged 25 and over of both sexes had significantly lower median years of school completed than the total population, with male "Other Hispanics" coming closest to the citywide average of 12.4 years for all males 25 and over, with a median of 11.6 years (Table 5). The lowest average educational achievement was recorded for Puerto Rican females with 9.7 years of school completed.

Both "Other Hispanic" males and females had higher levels of school years completed than their Puerto Rican counterparts in every category and a significantly lower percentage who did not graduate high school. While 47.6 percent of "Other Hispanic" males graduated high school, only 36.8 percent of Puerto Rican males did so. Over 23 percent of "Other Hispanic" males went on to some college, with 9.8 percent graduating compared to only 13.3 and 4.3 percent for Puerto Ricans respectively.

Neither Puerto Rican nor "Other Hispanic" females reached the level of educational achievement of their male counterparts. Only 33.8 percent of Puerto Rican females age 25 and over had graduated high school but 41.4 percent of "Other Hispanic" females had done so. Also, 16 percent of "Other Hispanic" females had gone on to college with 6.3 percent graduating. Among Puerto Rican females, only 10.6 percent went from high school into college with 3.1 percent graduating.

Language Spoken at Home

The ability of immigrant groups to learn to speak English, an assimilation issue, has been cited as an important correlate of socioeconomic success.[4] Except for relatively self-contained communities in which all the local merchants speak Spanish and where there are employment opportunities in business such as garment manufacturing shops run by Hispanic entrepreneurs with Spanish-speaking help, Hispanics must learn English in order to cope with daily life.

Hispanic children are exposed to English when they reach school age and must learn to read and write English at some level of proficiency quickly in order to achieve basic educational credentials. About 88 percent spoke a language other than English at home; but twice the percentage of "Other Hispanic" persons than Puerto Ricans 5 to 24 years of age spoke English either "not well" or "not at all," 20.4 percent compared with 10.6 percent for Puerto Ricans. However, in this age group, there were "Other Hispanics" who had never entered the city's school system, having migrated as teenagers.

Almost all Puerto Rican adults, 95 percent of those age 25 and over, spoke a language other than English at home as did almost 92 percent of "Other Hispanics." However, 30 percent of this Puerto Rican adult group spoke English "not well" or "not at all," while 44 percent of the "Other Hispanics" had English-speaking deficiencies despite their higher overall educational attainment. The relatively recent arrival of the "Other Hispanics" in the United States explains some of this difference, with 17.5 percent of the group speaking English "not at all" compared with 8.7 percent for Puerto Ricans.

Table 5 Years of School Completed for Persons 25 Years and Over by Sex: Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics," New York City, 1980

	Puerto Ricans		Other Hispanics	
Years of School Completed	**Number**	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Males 25 years and over	175,500	100.0	110,466	100.0
Not high school graduate	110,896	63.2	57,873	52.4
None	3,774	2.2	2,732	2.5
Elementary only	63,000	35.9	36,096	32.7
1-7 years	44,420	25.3	24,808	22.5
8 years	18,580	10.6	11,290	10.2
High school 1-3 years only	44,122	25.1	19,043	17.2
High school graduate	64,604	36.8	52,593	47.6
High school 4 years only	41,132	23.4	26,674	24.1
College 1-3 years only	15,840	9.0	15,110	13.7
College graduate	7,632	4.3	10,809	9.8
College 4 years only	3,812	2.2	4,520	4.1
College 5 years plus	3,820	2.2	6,289	5.7
Median years completed	10.3		11.6	
Females 25 years and over	231,304	100.0	139,712	100.0
Not high school graduate	153,060	66.2	81,842	58.6
None	9,942	4.3	4,930	3.5
Elementary only	90,935	39.3	54,995	39.4
1-7 years	68,520	29.6	39,235	28.1
8 years	22,415	9.7	15,760	11.3
High school 1-3 years only	52,183	22.6	21,917	15.7
High school graduate	78,244	33.8	57,870	41.4
High school 4 years only	53,685	23.2	34,822	24.9
College 1-3 years only	17,295	7.5	14,195	10.2
College graduate	7,264	3.1	8,853	6.3
College 4 years only	3,715	1.6	4,193	3.0
College 5 years plus	3,549	1.5	4,660	3.3
Median years completed	9.7		10.3	

Source: 1980 Census Summary Tape File 4B.

Economic Contrasts: Family Structure and Economic Position

Income

Given the traditional problems associated with recent immigration (e.g., labor market entry) one might expect economic differences between "Other Hispanics" and Puerto Ricans to be minimal. Indeed, recency of immigration was shown in some ways, such as in the poorer reported English-speaking ability of "Other Hispanics." However, despite their more recent arrival, the fact remains that "Other Hispanics" had a socioeconomic profile more in line with higher economic achievement.

In 1980, the ratio of Puerto Rican household income to that of "Other Hispanics" was .70, about $8,200 and $12,000 respectively (Table 6). Both these figures were below the city median of $13,850. Over 47 percent of Puerto Rican households received under $7,500 per year compared to 32 percent for "Other Hispanic" households. The ratio of Puerto Rican family income to that of "Other Hispanics" was similar to that for household income, .72, with income levels for both groups at somewhat higher levels than household income. For both Hispanic subgroups, married-couple families had substantially higher incomes than families headed by a male or female with no spouse present. Furthermore, the ratio of Puerto Rican to "Other Hispanic" income for married-couple families was .89, reflecting a much smaller difference than that for all households or families.

Table 6 Household Income in 1979: Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics," New York City, 1980

Household Income	Puerto Ricans Number	Puerto Ricans Percent	Other Hispanics Number	Other Hispanics Percent
Total Households	278,220	100.0	142,812	100.0
Less than $2,500	36,052	13.0	11,791	8.3
$2,500 to $4,999	57,923	20.8	17,386	12.2
$5,000 to $7,499	37,527	13.5	16,328	11.4
$7,500 to $9,999	27,919	10.0	15,278	10.7
$10,000 to $12,499	27,485	9.9	15,672	11.0
12,500 to $14,999	19,321	6.9	12,493	8.7
$15,000 to $17,499	17,222	6.2	11,191	7.8
$17,500 to $19,999	12,904	4.6	8,844	6.2
$20,000 to $22,499	11,308	4.1	7,945	5.6
$22,500 to $24,999	7,859	2.8	5,348	3.7
$25,000 to $27,499	5,993	2.2	4,799	3.4
$27,500 to $29,999	4,369	1.6	3,438	2.4
$30,000 to $34,999	5,631	2.0	4,874	3.4
$35,000 to $39,999	2,918	1.0	2,877	2.0
$40,000 to $49,999	2,319	0.8	2,447	1.7
$50,000 to $74,999	1,109	0.4	1,703	1.2
$75,000 or more	361	0.1	418	0.3
Median household income	$8,181		$11,698	

Source: 1980 Census Summary Tape File 4B.

Labor Force Participation and Unemployment

The key to understanding the economic situation of Puerto Ricans relative to "Other Hispanics" lies in the analysis of labor force participation and family structure. A much larger proportion of Puerto Rican families had a female householder with no spouse, 44 percent against 32 percent for "Other Hispanics." Fertility among Puerto Rican women was much higher than among "Other Hispanic" women. Educational achievement was lower as was labor force participation: only 34 percent of Puerto Rican women 16 and over participated in the labor force, compared to 52 percent for "Other Hispanic" women (Table 7). Furthermore, the latter figure was significantly above New York City's 1980 rate of 47.1 for all women 16 and over. Moreover, an even smaller proportion of Puerto Rican family householders of either sex with no spouse present were in the labor force in 1980, 29 percent against 54 percent for "Other Hispanics."

In addition to their lower fertility and higher educational attainment levels, "Other Hispanic" households were more likely to contain "other relatives," persons who may provide child care services, permitting more mothers to work. Also, "Other Relatives" who are adults may be a source of additional income for the "Other Hispanic" households. As the number of persons per family increased beyond the four-person level, differences in income between the two Hispanic subgroups widened. Among Puerto Ricans, more family members were "own children under 18," a group likely to be dependent on the family's economic resources.

Among males, the difference between Hispanic subgroups in labor force participation was much smaller than among females. The ratio of Puerto Rican male to "Other Hispanic" male participation was .86, with about 66 percent of the former and 77 percent of the latter in the labor force (Table 7). The citywide male labor force participation rate was lower than that of "Other Hispanic" males 16 and over, only 69.2 percent. The participation rates for householders in married-couple families, the large majority of whom were males, were equally close, but at a level about 10 percentage points higher for both Hispanic subgroups.

By age, for both sexes, "Other Hispanic" rates were consistently above those for Puerto Ricans. Nevertheless, the relatively low participation rates for 16- to 19-year-old Puerto Rican and "Other Hispanic" youths were much lower than one would expect, given national Hispanic estimates.[5] All teenage youths in New York City, heavily weighted by black non-Hispanics, had very low rates of labor force participation which tended to depress the overall city rates. Analysis of 16- to 19-year-old youths shows that a sizeable number of Hispanics of both sexes were not enrolled in school and were not members of the labor force in 1980. The large number of these youths, 20 percent of all Hispanic youths 16 to 19, depressed the overall rates.

In every age group, Puerto Rican females had lower levels of labor force participation. From ages 20 to 44, the gap in ratios widened, testimony to the toll on labor force participation taken by higher parity births. The lowest rate of labor force participation for Puerto Rican females occurred in the 35 to 44 age range, the period of fertility completion for most women. Only 37 percent of Puerto Rican females in this age group were in the labor force, about 59 percent as high as the rate for "Other Hispanic" females of this age (31.9).

Although Puerto Rican males had labor force participation rates consistently below those of "Other Hispanics" at each age, differences by Hispanic subgroups were not nearly as great as among females. In fact, among 20- to

Table 7 Labor Force Status by Sex: Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics," New York City, 1980

Labor Force Status	Puerto Ricans Number	Puerto Ricans Percent	Other Hispanics Number	Other Hispanics Percent
Males 16 and over	247,485	100.0	148,120	100.0
In the labor force	163,160	65.9	113,673	76.7
Armed forces	547	0.2	147	0.1
Civilian labor force	162,613	65.7	113,526	76.6
Employed	143,737	58.1	103,478	69.9
Part-time	15,268	6.2	10,770	7.3
Unemployed	18,876	7.6	10,048	6.8
Unemployment rate[2]	11.6	-	8.9	-
Not in labor force	84,325	34.1	34,447	23.3
Females 16 and over	315,315	100.0	181,892	100.0
In the labor force	106,695	33.8	93,755	51.5
Armed forces	52	0.0	19	0.0
Civilian labor force	106,643	33.8	93,736	51.5
Employed	92,833	29.4	83,177	45.7
Part-time[1]	19,286	6.1	14,100	7.8
Unemployed	13,810	4.4	10,559	5.8
Unemployment rate[2]	12.9	-	11.3	-
Not in labor force	208,622	66.2	88,137	48.5

1. "Part-time" is defined as employment 1 to 34 hours per week.

2. Unemployed as a percent of the civilian labor force.

Source: 1980 Census — Summary Tape File 4B.

29-year-olds, the Puerto Rican male participation rate was over nine-tenths that of the "Other Hispanic" rate.

Lower educational achievement leads to higher proportions of unemployed as well as discouraged workers. As a result, Puerto Ricans also had higher overall unemployment rates than "Other Hispanics," 11.6 and 8.9 percent among males and 12.9 and 11.3 percent among females, respectively (Table 7). These rates were all above the overall unemployment rate for New York City in 1980, an identical 7.7 percent for both sexes.

For both Hispanic subgroups, householders of married-couple families had the lowest unemployment rates, 6.3 percent among "Other Hispanics" and 6.7 percent for Puerto Ricans. Such families also had the highest labor force participation and the greatest income for both Hispanic subgroups. Among family householders with no spouse, a group that is largely female, unemployment was considerably higher than for groups overall, about 10.9 percent for "Other Hispanics" and 13.7 percent for Puerto Ricans.

Source of Income

The very low rates of female labor force participation, combined with lower participation rates among males and relatively high unemployment overall made Puerto Ricans more dependent than "Other Hispanics" on non-earning income sources. Just under 20 percent of "Other Hispanic" households drew public assistance income in 1979, compared to 39 percent of all Puerto Rican households (Table 8), and 14 percent of all households in New York City. The greater dependency on public assistance is reflected in the fact that only 62 percent of all Puerto Rican households had income from earnings in 1979, compared to 81 percent for "Other Hispanics."

The large differences seen in the total household income of Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics" seem to be more closely related to the proportion of households which drew income from non-earning sources, rather than the value of income earned. In fact, those Puerto Rican households with wage and salary income fared quite well relative to "Other Hispanics," with the mean value of such earnings in Puerto Rican households 89 percent that of "Other Hispanic" households.

Occupation and Industry

Over 69 percent of Puerto Rican females fall into three occupational classes: "Administrative Support, Including Clerical," "Service, except Protective and Household" and "Machine Operators, Assemblers and Inspectors." Although a virtually identical proportion of "Other Hispanic" females also are in these three groups combined, they are less likely than Puerto Ricans to be in "Administrative Support" occupations and much more likely to be "Machine Operators, Assemblers and Inspectors."

One-third of "Other Hispanic" females are "Machine Operators, Assemblers and Inspectors" compared to one-fifth among Puerto Rican females. About 24,000 of the 83,000 "Other Hispanic" employed females, some 28 percent, are "Machine Operators" alone, compared to 17 percent for Puerto Rican females. The longer length of residence and better English-speaking ability of Puerto Ricans is consistent with their greater proportionate representation in "Administrative Support" occupations (46 versus 31 percent for "Other Hispanics"), and their lower representation in the "new immigrant" operative occupations.

Among males, the occupational distributions by Hispanic subgroup are strikingly similar, with only slightly higher proportions of Puerto Ricans in "Administrative Support" occupations and a slightly higher proportion of "Other Hispanics" in the "Machine Operators, Assemblers and Inspectors" category.

For both sexes, "Other Hispanics" were more concentrated in the manufacturing sector than Puerto Ricans, with the difference for males being much smaller than that for females. Over 43 percent of "Other Hispanic" females were in manufacturing compared to 30 percent among Puerto Rican females, with the majority of both groups involved in the production of non-durable goods. Despite the higher concentration of "Other Hispanic" females in what has been widely characterized as a declining sector of New York City's economy,[6] they, nevertheless, had higher levels of labor force participation than Puerto Ricans in 1980. The greater employment of "Other Hispanic" females in non-durable manufacturing is probably a reflection of their propensity to work for heavily Spanish-speaking garment manufacturers. Puerto Rican females, in contrast, were more predominant in "Professional and Related Services" industry sectors, especially in health-related services.

Colombians and Dominicans: An Overview

Colombian and Dominican person records were selected from the 1980 Census Public Use Microdata File, Sample A (5/100), resulting in 42,980 Colombians and 119,540 Dominicans being identified, virtually all of "Single Ancestry."

One major common thread between Colombians and Dominicans is their status as recent immigrants. Over 67 percent of the Colombians and 62 percent of the Dominicans were relatively recent arrivals who came into the United States in the post-1965 period. Fully 23 percent of both groups arrived between 1975 and 1980. Most Colombians and Dominicans were foreign born, some 81 percent of the former and 75 percent of the latter, largely in Colombia and the Dominican Republic, respectively.

Apart from being recent immigrants, there was little else that the two groups had in common. In fact, differences between Colombians and Dominicans were, in many cases, as wide as those between

Table 8 Household Income in 1979 by Income Type: Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics," New York City, 1980

	Puerto Ricans			Other Hispanics		
Income Type	Number	Percent	Mean	Number	Percent	Mean
Total Households[1]	278,220	100.0	—	148,812	100.0	—
Earnings	172,456	62.0	$13,528	115,557	80.9	$15,270
Wage/salary income	170,441	61.3	$13,358	113,854	79.7	$14,963
Non-farm self-employment	5,695	2.0	$ 9,317	6,023	4.2	$ 9,802
Farm self-employment	307	0.1	—	323	0.2	—
Interest, dividend, rental	23,358	8.4	$ 1,228	20,271	14.2	$ 1,818
Social security income	34,550	12.4	$ 3,260	14,958	10.5	$ 3,407
Public assistance	108,290	38.9	$ 3,571	$27,936	19.6	$ 3,342
All other	42,381	15.2	$ 3,297	23,439	16.4	$ 3,396

[1]Since households may have more than one income source, sum of income categories will not add to total households.

Source: 1980 Census Summary Tape File 4B.

"Other Hispanics" and Puerto Ricans. Dominican males and females were much younger than Colombians, an average of 5.3 years younger for males and 3.7 years younger for females. While much older than Dominicans, the median age for all Colombians, 29.9, was still below that for all persons in New York City (32.6).

Although household and family size differences were not marked, families with female householders and no spouse were much more abundant among Dominicans. Over 70 percent of Colombian families were of the married-couple type compared to only 52 percent of Dominican families, and 69 percent of all families in New York City. About 42 percent of Dominican families had a female householder with no spouse, similar to the Puerto Rican level of 43.5 but well above the level for Colombians, 24 percent. Dominican families with own children under 18 were twice as likely as Colombian families to have a female householder with no spouse present.

Perhaps more serious than any other difference is the difference in educational attainment. Over one-half of Colombians 25 and over were high school graduates compared to just 26 percent for Dominicans, with median years of school 12.1 years for the former and 8.5 years for the latter in 1980. Previous research[7] found significant but smaller levels of disparity in educational attainment among New York City Colombians and Dominicans 20 to 45 years of age. Their sample, however, focused on concentrated settlements of each group, which may have underrepresented many of the more dispersed, highly educated Colombians.

Lower educational attainment manifested itself in a number of ways. Dominicans, for instance, had substantially higher levels of completed fertility, 2.82 children ever born compared to just 1.93 for Colombians. Labor force participation was about 47 percent among Dominican females compared to 59 percent for Colombian females. These rates were respectively equal to and substantially higher than that for all females 16 and over in New York City, 47.1 percent. In spite of the fact that their educational attainment was below that for Puerto Rican females, Dominican females had a labor force participation rate 13 percentage points higher than that for Puerto Ricans.

Despite their recent immigrant status, both Colombian and Dominican males have labor force participation rates which exceed that of all males in New York City. About 84 percent of the former and 75 percent of the latter were in the labor force in 1980, compared to an overall male rate for New York City of 69.2 percent. The high rate for Colombian males 16 and over was, in fact, only a few percentage points lower than that for all New York City males at their peak of participation, ages 30 to 44 (89 percent).

Economically, Colombians fared better than Dominicans; however, the latter group still was more advantaged than Puerto Ricans. Median household income for Dominicans was about two-thirds the level of Colombians. The situation was about the same for family income. The median household income of Puerto Ricans was still over $1,000 below that of Dominicans, with both groups substantially below the city median of $13,850.

Over 23 percent of Dominican households drew public assistance income, compared to 7 percent of Colombian households, well above and below the city's 14 percent average for such recipiency. Thirty-nine percent of Puerto Rican households received at least some public assistance income.

Although there were many people in both groups who had difficulty speaking English, Dominicans seem to have more serious problems, especially among females. Over 68 percent of Dominican females age 25 and over spoke English "not well" or "not at all" compared to 55 percent of the Colombians. More importantly, 36 percent of the Dominicans spoke English "not at all" against 22 percent of the Colombians. Such a handicap reveals itself in several ways. One major manifestation of this problem was in the occupation distribution. While both Colombian and Dominican women were concentrated in three major occupation groups, 48 percent of the Dominicans were "Machine Operators, Assemblers and Inspectors," compared to 28 percent of Colombians. Colombians, who have better English-speaking capacity, were more likely to be in the "Administrative Support, Including Clerical" group, occupations where greater education and English-language ability are more important.

Among males, language differences were as marked as among females, although males, in general, were more likely to have a working knowledge of English. About 58 percent of Dominican males 25 and over spoke English "not well" or "not at all" compared to 42 percent among Colombian males, with proportionately twice as many of the former speaking English "not at all." A reflection of their lower education and poorer language competency, Dominican males were more highly represented in less-skilled, blue collar occupations such as "Handlers, Equipment Cleaners, Helpers and Laborers," and "Machine Operators, Assemblers and Inspectors." Colombian males, on the other hand, were more likely to be in the more highly skilled "Precision Product, Craft and Repair" occupations. Dominicans were also more concentrated in the "Other Service" occupations, a category consisting of various cleaning/custodial, food preparation and health/personal service occupations where language competency is not critical.

Conclusion

Several factors appear to influence differences between Puerto Ricans and "Other Hispanics." Family structure and composition seem to be the most important. Like many other groups with low educational achievement and high fertility, Puerto Ricans had low levels of labor force participation. However, what makes the interaction between these factors especially acute for Puerto Ricans is the high percentage of Puerto Rican families with a female householder and no spouse.

When the nuclear family is isolated, each of the four subgroups which have been studied and contrasted, Puerto Ricans versus "Other Hispanics" and Dominicans versus Colombians, major differentials in socioeconomic status almost disappear. In all groups the married-couple family had wage and salary earnings and relatively high median household and family income approaching averages for all city households and families. Although not specifically tabulated, it was likely that in Hispanic married-couple families, like all City families, both spouses were employed. Therefore, it is not so much that Puerto Ricans with earnings fail to achieve parity with "Other Hispanics" but that so few Puerto Ricans have earnings at all.

The popular perception is that because Puerto Ricans have lived in increasing numbers in New York City for over thirty years, they have assimilated and that newer migrants from the Dominican Republic have replaced Puerto Ricans on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. That this is not accurate was revealed by the 1980 Census. Despite their lower levels of education, poorer English-speaking ability, and concentration in many of the same occupations, in 1980, Dominicans were doing better economically than Puerto Ricans. Dominican labor force participation rates were on par with all New York City residents and well above those for Puerto Ricans. While Dominicans and Puerto Ricans were well below city income averages, Puerto Ricans were disproportionately represented in the low income group dependent upon public assistance. The socioeconomic situation of married-couple Puerto Rican families offers promise for the group as a whole, with larger proportions of earners and incomes more on par with those of "Other Hispanics," and the city as a whole.

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